

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 041904

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO USUN, GENEVA, ALGIERS,
BELGRADE, CAIRO, BAGHDAD, FEB 12, FROM NEW DELHI RPTD TO
YOU:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 2059

BEIRUT PASS BAGHDAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, IN

SUBJECT: INDIA AND THE NON-ALIGNED STATES

SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH INDIAN ROOTS IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT
ARE LONG, INDIA SEEMS FROM HERE TO BE LESS INFLUENTIAL IN
THE NON-ALIGNED CAUCUS THAN IT ONCE WAS. SINCE INDIA DOES
NOT HAVE A SIGNIFICANT REGIONAL CAUCUS OF ITS OWN, THE NON-
ALIGNED MOVEMENT IS USEFUL AS A FORUM FOR PLEADING INDIA'S
NATIONAL INTERESTS, IN PROVIDING "COVER" ON ISSUES THE GOI
DOES NOT WISH TO PRESS BILATERALLY, AND AS A MEANS OF
COUNTERING CHINESE AND PAKISTANI INFLUENCE AMONG THE THIRD
WORLD COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE INDIANS WOULD LIKE TO BE IMPORTANT IN THE NON-ALIGNED
WORLD. THEY HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN THOSE DAYS WHEN NEHRU, NASSER
AND TITO WERE THE BIG THREE OF THE NON-COMMITTED POWERS.
THE GOI STILL PLACES SUBSTANTIAL VALUE ON RADICAL CHIC, AND
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WE ARE TOLD PIOUSLY, WHEN WE MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON SUBJECTS

SUCH AS THE PRG, THE PLO, OR KHMER REPRESENTATION, THAT INDIA MUST VOTE WITH THE NON-ALIGNED AND SUPPORT THE NON-ALIGNED POSITION. IN THE FINAL ACCOUNTING, HOWEVER, THE GOI DEPENDS PRIMARILY ON BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON ISSUES THAT REALLY COUNT FOR INDIA.

2. WE HAVE HAD VARIOUS REPORTS FROM INDIAN AND OTHER SOURCES, SOME OF THEM SECOND MWDN, THAT THE INDIANS REALLY DON'T HAVE MUCH INFLUENCE ANY MORE WITHIN THE COUNCILS OF THE NON-ALIGNED. THE VOTING AT THE LAST UNGA ON ECOSOC AND THE INDIAN AND PAKISTANI RESOLUTIONS ON THE SOUTH ASIA NUCLEAR FREE ZONES SUGGESTS THAT THE INDIANS CANNOT COUNT MUCH ON THEIR NON-ALIGNED COLLEAGUES ON ISSUES OF PRIMARY INTEREST TO INDIA. (LACK OF NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT FOR INDIA AT THE TIME OF THE 1962 SINO-INDIAN WAR SHOULD HAVE MADE THAT EVIDENT LONG AGO.) WE HAVE HEARD OTHER STORIES THAT THE INDIANS HAVE BEEN MIFFED AT BEING EXCLUDED FROM ARAB, EURICAN OR LATIN AMERICAN CAUCUSES ON SPECIFIC NON-ALIGNED SUBJECTS. IT IS TRUE THAT INDIA DOES NOT BELONG ANYWHERE EXCEPT IN A SMALL SOUTH ASIAN GROUPING WHERE IT CANNOT COUNT ON BRINGING ITS NEIGHBORS ALONG WITH IT.

3. BUT INDIA IS BIG, AND ITS DIPLOMATS POSSESS SOPHISTICATION, EXPERTISE AND FLUENT ENGLISH. THESE MAY GIVE THE GOI A CERTAIN ADVANTAGE IN THE MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY WHERE NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS ARE BUILT. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE WONDER IF INDIANS DO NOT ASK THEMSELVES TO SOME EXTENT, WHAT'S INNRT FOR US? OFF-HAND WE CANNOT THINK OF MANY OCCASIONS WHEN THE INDIANS HAVE REALLY RECEIVED MUCH SPECIFICALLY "FOR INDIA" OUT OF THE R NON-ALIGNED MEETINGS. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MUCH ALTERED BY INDIAN PRESSURES OR REPRESENTATIONS, AT LEAST IN RECENT YEARS. CONCEIVABLY, THE INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE MIGHT BECOME SUCH, BUT THE INITIATIVE ON THIS WAS CEYLONESE AND THE "NON-NUCLEAR" ASPECT HAS CAUSED THE GOI SOME TROUBLE IN THE LAST YEAR.

4. ON BALANCE, INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE NON-ALIGNED ARE ESSENTIALLY DAMAGE-LIMITING, A WAY OF KEEPING IN STEP WITH THE WIELDERS OF THE GREAT UN MAJORITIES, AND PARTICULARLY OF WORKING DIPLOMATICALLY AMONG THIS GROUP TO BALANCE PAKIS-
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TANI AND PRC INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY AMONG MUSLIM AND AFRICAN STATES. THE POLICY REFLECTS A GENUINE NATIONAL CONCERN SUS WHICH HAS STRONG EMOTIONAL AND POLITICAL APPEAL IN INDIA, WHICH IS UNLIKELY TO CHANGE. INDIA'S DEVOTION TO THE NON-ALIGNED CAUSE MAY NOT DIRECTLY BENEFIT INDIA ALL THAT MUCH BUT IT KEEPS INDIA FROM BEING ISOLATED. INDIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN A MEMBER AND IS RELUCTANT TO IDENTIFY ITSELF WITH THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, SO WHERE ELSE SHOULD IT GO?

5. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THE ASSESSMENT OF OTHER POSTS
ON INBLA'S INFLUENCE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. SCHNEIDER
UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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